

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY: S/S-O:AWOTTO

APPROVED BY: S/S-O:AWOTTO

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM VIENNA DATED MAY 20, 1977 SENT  
SECSTATE WASHDC IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

S E C R E T VIENNA 4122

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATTN: DR. BRZEZINSKI

DEPT PASS GENEVA EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY VANCE

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, (MONDALE, WALTER F.) US, SF, RH

SUBJECT: FIRST MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND  
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, MORNING, MAY 19

SUMMARY: DURING INITIAL SESSION, ON RHODESIA, VICE PRESIDENT  
MONDALE SET FORTH U.S. SUPPORT FOR OWEN INITIATIVE AND  
EFFORTS TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION WITH CLEAR GUARANTEES FOR  
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ALL, WHICH WILL LEAD TO FREE ELECTIONS WITH FULL PARTICIPATION,  
AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE DURING 1978. VORSTER STATED  
THAT HE HAD NOT KNOWN OF CHANGE IN U.S. ATTITUDE CONCERNING  
CONCEPT OF ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA  
WOULD NOW HAVE TO RESERVE ITS POSITION. VORSTER BLAMED  
NATIONALISTS FOR VIOLENCE AND FAILURE OF EARLIER EFFORTS  
TO REACH RHODISIAN SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING INITIAL PHOTO SESSION AT HOFBURG CONFERENCE  
ROOM, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, JOINED BY AARON, AND

PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, JOINED BY BOTHA, MET PRIVATELY AS PER EARLIER AGREEMENT. DURING THAT SESSION, WHICH LASTED APPROXIMATELY 35 MINUTES, VORSTER OPENED BY CRITICIZING PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT EARLIER THIS WEEK ON THE NEED FOR CHANGE IN SOUTHER AFRICA, THEN TURNED TO A REQUEST FOR MORE C-130'S AND SHACKLETON SPARE PARTS.

2. PRINCIPLES THEN RETURNED TO OPEN SESSION. ON SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE WERE, IN ADDITION TO VORSTER AND BOTHA, VAN DEN BERGH, FOURIE, SOLE, FRANKLIN, AND EKSTEEN. WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND AARON WERE AMBASSADORS BOWDLER AND MCHENRY, LAKE, CLIFT, JOHNSON, AND KATZEN. AS AGREED, OPENING SESSION WAS DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION OF RHODESIA, AND LASTED 2 HOURS.

3. SOUTHERN RHODESIA: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SET FORTH USG SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN SECRETARY OWENS' INITIATIVE AND EFFORTS TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL LEAD TO FREE ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE DURING 1978. WHILE THE ORIGINAL SUGGESTION WAS TO HAVE A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AS PART OF THE PROCESS, HE SAID WE NOW ARE BEGINNING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE HOPE THAT A CONSENSUS WILL RESULT CONCERNING A CONSTITUTION. WE HAVE APPOINTED A SENIOR AMERICAN DIPLOMAT, AMBASSADOR LOW, TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS. WE HOPE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL  
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ENCOURAGE SMITH TO WORK WITH THE PROCESS, SUPPORTING FREE ELECTIONS WITH ALL PARTICIPATING, AND AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN ZIMBABWE IN 1978. WE HAVE NOT DEVELOPED DETAILS CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION; THESE ARE FOR THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS TO DETERMINE. THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP WILL BE IN SALISBURY, MAY 2223.

4. VORSTER REVIEWED EATIER SMITH EFFORTS TO REACH A SOLUTION, BEGINNING IN 1973. HE OUTLINED SOUTH AFRICAN STEPS TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER, INCLUDING THE LIBERATION OF NKOMO AND SITHOLE. SOUTH AFRICA AT ALL TIMES HAS BEEN PREPARED TO HELP, AND IS PREPARED NOW. SMITH IS WILLING TO FIND A SOLUTION; HE WILL ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE, WHICH MEANS BLACK RULE. BUT WITH WHOM IS HE TO NEGOTIATE? GENEVA SHOWED HOW SPLIT THE NATIONALISTS ARE. MUGABE HAS A 2-3 PERCENT FOLLOWING; NKOMA 10-12 PERCENT, MUZOREWA 70 PERCENT; AND CHIRAU, THE REST. SOUTH AFRICA, THOUGH, WILL NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF A SOLUTION. INDICATIVE OF THAT WERE VORSTER'S "CONFIDENTIAL" TALKS WITH CHIVANDUKA IN CAPETOWN, TWO MONTHS AGO.

5. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE COMMENTED THAT PRECISELY BECAUSE

OF THE MANY DIFFERENT GROUPS HAVING DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES,  
IT WAS DESIRABLE TO PROCEED NOW WITH A PROCESS WHICH  
WOULD LEAD TO A CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.  
BUT, WE DO NOT WISH TO CHOOSE THE LEADERS. VORSTER  
INTERJECTED THAT IF AN ELECTION WERE HELD TOMORROW  
IN RHODESIA, MUSOREWA WOULD BE ELECTED OVERWHELMINGLY.  
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE REPLIED THAT THE CRUCIAL ELEMENT  
IS NOT WHO IS ELECTED BUT THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE HELD,  
IN A SPIRIT OF FAIRNESS, EQUALITY, AND INTEGRITY.  
THIS IS OUR OBJECTIVE, AND WE BELIEVE IT WILL LEAD TO  
THE CREATION OF A MODERATE GOVERNMENT. HE AGAIN  
APPEALED TO SOUTH AFRICA TO INFLUENCE SMITH TO ACCEPT  
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THE PROCESS AND THE RESULTS OF FAIR ELECTIONS. WE  
WILL ENCOURAGE THOSE WITH WHOM WE HAVE INFLUENCE.

6. VORSTER STATED THAT SMITH ALREADY HAD ACCEPTED  
THE PROCESS, WHICH HAD CAUSED A REBELLION WITHIN HIS OWN  
POLITICAL PARTY. THE QUESTION REMAINS: TO WHOM SHOULD  
HE TURN OVER POWER? THE IDEAL WOULD BE A REFERENDUM  
AMONG BLACKS TO CHOOSE A LEADER WHO, IN TURN, WOULD  
NEGOTIATE THE TURNOVER WITH SMITH. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SAID THAT  
THE BLACKS HAVE ALREADY REJECTED THIS "INTERNAL OPTION",  
AND THE OWEN MISSION SEEKS TO CIRCUMVENT THAT VERY  
PROCESS. WE REJECT THE INTERNAL OPTION. WE ARE NOT AS  
SURE AS VORSTER THAT SMITH HAS FULLY ACCEPTED THE PROCESS.  
VORSTER REPLIED THAT IN SMITH'S AND KISSIGNER'S PRESENCE,  
HE, VORSTER, HAD SPECIFICALLY SAID THAT IF SMITH DID NOT  
ADHERE TO THE FIVE POINTS SMITH HAD ACCEPTED, VORSTER  
WOULD DROP HIM. VORSTER ADDED THAT HE ALSO HAD  
SAID HE WOULD GUARANTEE SMITH HONORED HIS COMMITMENTS.  
"I CAN'T DO ANY MORE", HE ADDED. "IF SMITH AGREES  
TO THE ELECTION PROCESS, I WILL SUPPORT THE RESULTS".

7. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT AGREEMENT SEEMED  
TO EXIST NOW ON THAT POINT. HE ADDED THAT WHILE WE  
SEEK MAJORITY RULE, WE DO NOT SAY THAT THIS NECESSARILY MEANS  
BLACK MAJORITY RULE. BLACKS OFTEN ARE ELECTED IN  
PRIMARILY WHITE ELECTORATES AND VICE VERSA, IN THE  
UNITED STATES. VORSTER WAS QUICK TO RESPOND THAT ONE  
COULD NOT EQUATE THE UNITED STATES SITUATION TO THAT  
EXISTING IN EITHER RHODESIA OR SOUTH AFRICA.

8. VORSTER ADDED THAT A GUARANTEE STILL WAS NEEDED FOR  
WHITES AND ASKED FOR IT FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT OR OWEN.  
THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT THE MORE PROMPT THE  
PROGRESS TO HONEST MAJORITY GOVERNMENT, WITH  
CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF PERSONAL LIBERTIES, PROPERTY,  
RELIGION, AND INDIVIDUAL CHOICE, WITH AN INDEPENDENT  
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JUDICIARY, THE MORE ATTRACTIVE IT WOULD BE FOR ALL TO REMAIN IN RHODESIA. THESE RIGHTS WOULD GUARANTEE WHAT THE WHITES SEEK. VORSTER RESPONDED THAT SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES WOULD NOT MEAN ANYTHING, BUT THAT IF THE AMERICANS STATED THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES INCLUDED SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES, THE WHITE RHODESIANS AND THE MAJORITY OF BLACK RHODESIANS WOULD ACCEPT. SO WOULD THE SAG. SUCH ASSURANCES, COUPLED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ZIMBABWE FUND (AND ITS INCLUSION IN THE CONSTITUTION) WOULD LEAD TO A SETTLEMENT. "IF YOU CAN GUARANTEE NKOMO AND MUGABE FALL INTO LINE", HE SAID, "I WILL GUARANTEE SMITH DOES".

9. THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT WHILE WE CAN'T GUARANTEE RESULTS, OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO PURSUE THE OWEN

MISSION AND, AS PART OF THE PROCESS TRY TO GAIN FRONT LINE SUPPORT, AND DO WHAT WE CAN TO SUPPORT AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT ONCE IT IS ESTABLISHED. SPECIFICALLY WE ASK VORSTER:

A) FOR SAG SUPPORT, HOPEFULLY PUBLICLY, FOR THE OWEN MISSION;

B) TO PRESS SMITH TO NEGOTIATE FOR MAJORITY RULE, ATTAINED THROUGH FAIR ELECTIONS, IN 1978;

C) TO OBTAIN SMITH'S AGREEMENT TO INDEPENDENCE AT THAT DATE;

D) FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO WORK AS WE WILL WITH A ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT THUS CHOSEN;

E) TO HELP IN REDUCING TENSIONS WHICH TEAR AT  
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THAT PROCESS.

10. VORSTER CAME UP SHARPLY, SAYING THAT HE DID NOT LIKE THE WORD "PRESSURE", THAT HE HAD NEVER PRESSED SMITH; INSTEAD, "I TALK SENSE TO HIM". VORSTER REITERATED THAT THE PROBLEM IN RHODESIA IS NOT SMITH, BUT THE NATIONALISTS. HE RETURNED TO HIS ARGUMENT FAVORING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA THEN, FEIGNING COMPROMISE, SAID HE WOULD ACCEPT HIS SECOND CHOICE, WHICH WOULD BE ALONG THE LINES OF OWEN'S PROPOSAL. BUT, THE CONSTITUTION, HE REPEATED, WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE ALL ELEMENTS THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD DESCRIBED AND US/UK GUARANTEES THAT THE

ELECTED GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE UPHELD AND NOT BE OVERTHROWN FROM THE OUTSIDE, AND THAT SANCTIONS WOULD BE LIFTED.

11. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE ZIMBABWE FUND, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE ENVISAGED IT AS HELPING IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND TRAINING: THAT WAS THE PATH TO ECONOMIC STABILITY. WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER OTHER KINDS OF HELP TO STRENGTHEN AGAINST THE FEARS AND THREATS VORSTER HAS MENTIONED. WE CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WILL CHOOSE A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL RENOUNCE ALL PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. BUT, THE CONSTITUTION WOULD INCORPORATE GUARANTEES ON CONFISCATION. THE FUND ITSELF CANNOT BE USED SIMPLY TO BUY OUT WHITES.

12. BOTHA REACTED IN A PATENTLY OVER-DRAMATIC FASHION. HE DESCRIBED AGREEMENTS AS HAVING BEEN REACHED IN THE DEPARTMENT WHEREBY THE FUND WAS TO HAVE A COMPENSATORY FUNCTION. HE SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN TOLD THERE WERE TO BE FORMAL GUARANTEES THAT A "SLIDING SCALE" OF COMPENSATIONS WOULD BE PAID IF THINGS WENT BADLY AND WHITE RHODESIANS WANTED TO LEAVE. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONFIRMED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT  
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HAD CHANGED ITS THINKING ON THIS. BOTHA CLAIMED THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD OF IT, THAT HE HAD TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THE FUND WAS "STILL ALIVE". THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT IT IS, BUT THAT IT IS NOT A SAFETY NET OR A "BUY OUT" FUND; INSTEAD, THE FUND WOULD BE USED TO HELP ENSURE FAIR TREATMENT AND BUILD CONFIDENCE. CONGRESS WOULD NOT SUPPORT A "BUY OUT" FUND. BOTHA RETORTED THAT THIS WAS "A DRAMATIC AND RADICAL CHANGE". LAKE AND AARON THEN OUTLINED OUR PHILOSOPHY OF THE FUND. THE SOUTH AFRICANS REPLIED THAT THE BRITISH HAD NOT TOLD THEM OF ANY CHANGE. BOTHA AND VORSTER WENT ON AT LENGTH ABOUT HOW THIS "CHANGE" PUT THE WHOLE QUESTION OF A RHODESIA SETTLEMENT IN JEOPARDY.

13. THE VICE PRESIDENT AGREED TO LOOK INTO THE QUESTION AT LUNCH TIME, AND TURNED TO THE MATTER OF INCURSIONS BY SMITH FORCES. VORSTER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BOTH SIDES WERE ESCALATING THE VIOLENCE AND STRESSED THAT ON MANY OCCASIONS SOUTH AFRICA HAD SERVED AS CHANNEL TO COMMUNICATE APPEALS TO SMITH. BUT, VORSTER ADDED, RHODESIA HAS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT ITS OWN POPULATION, AND FRONT LINE STATES MUST DO THEIR PART TO RESTRAIN NATIONALISTS. VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT AS PRACTICAL MATTER, THE SITUATION WILL NOT IMPROVE UNLESS THERE IS PROGRESS TOWARD ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE. VICE PRESIDENT

AND VORSTER AGREED THAT U.S. AND SAG WOULD USE  
WHAT INFLUENCE THEY HAVE ON BOTH SIDES. BEFORE  
BREAKING FOR LUNCH, VICE PRSIDENT AND VORSTER AGREED  
NOT TO SPEAK TO PRESS AT THIS THIS TIME. MEEHAN UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INDEPENDENCE, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-C, MEETING REPORTS, SELFDETERMINATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 20-May-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE115552  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** S/S-O:AWOTTO  
**Enclosure:** FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** N770003-0439  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197705110/baaaezvzn.tel  
**Line Count:** 278  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
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**Litigation History:**  
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**Message ID:** 3e6ce888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** NODIS ONLY  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS ONLY  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2346172  
**Secure:** LOCK1  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FIRST MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, MORNING, MAY 19  
**TAGS:** PFOR, OVIP, US, SF, RH, (MONDALE, WALTER F), (VORSTER, BALTHAZAR JOHANNES)  
**To:** SECRETARY WHITE HOUSE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/3e6ce888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009